VOL. V, NO. 82
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1917

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
AUG
17
1917
PERIODICAL DIVISION

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

"Travel is so Broadening"

Root—"And say! The Women are fighting for Democracy in Russia! You ought to see 'em!"

National Woman's Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tel. Main 5437*

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

Connecticut, 456 Washington Street, Hartford
Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington, *Tel. Wilmington* 5580
District of Columbia, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C., *Tel. Main* 5437
Indiana, 611 Fletcher Savings and Trust Co., Indianapolis
Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279
Massachusetts, 401 Phillips Building, 120 Tremont Street, Boston, *Tel. Fort Hill* 2825
Minnesota, 206 Studio Building, corner Market and Fourth Streets, St. Paul
New Jersey, 709 Union Building, Clinton Street, Newark
New York, 13 East 41st Street, New York, *Tel. Murray Hill* 5444
50 East 42d Street, N. Y. City (City Committee)
381 Main Street East, Rochester
Pennsylvania, 213 Hale Building, Philadelphia, *Tel. Filbert* 5652
Rhode Island, 557 Westminster Street, Providence

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Anne Martin, Nev., *Vice-Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., *Secretary*
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Md., *Treasurer*
Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Departments

Legislative
Chairman, Miss Anne Martin
Vice-Chairman, Miss Mabel Vernon

Lobby Committee
Mrs. Robert Baker
Mrs. Alvin Barber
Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Mrs. William Kent
Mrs. George Odell
Miss Maude Younger

Membership,
Miss Iris Calderhead

National Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Mrs. William Kent

National Headquarters Manager
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean

Organization
Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant

Pageant
Miss Hazel MacKaye

Political
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Baker
Secretary, Miss Katherine Morey

Press
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Baker
Secretary, Miss Beulah Amidon

Supplies
Mrs. Bessie Papandre

Executive Secretaries

National Headquarters, Miss Virginia Arnold

New York Headquarters, Miss Eldred Johnstone

Pennsylvania Headquarters, Miss Caroline Katzenstein

Field Secretaries

Miss Beulah Amidon
Miss Lucy Branham
Miss Mildred Gilbert
Miss Alice Henkle
Miss Sarah Grant
Miss Elsie Hill
Miss Margery Ross
Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Miss Margaret Whittemore
Miss Joy Young

National Committee of State Chairmen

Alabama
Mrs. H. L. White,
1026 South 32d St., Birmingham
Arizona
Mrs. H. L. Corl, Nogales (acting)
Arkansas
Mrs. Edward M. Jarrett,
Little Rock
California
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle
Vine St., Berkeley
Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs
Connecticut
Mrs. W. D. Ascough
456 Washington Street, Hartford
Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
17 East 7th Street, Wilmington
District of Columbia
Mrs. John J. White
1824 R St., Washington, D. C.
Florida
Mrs. A. Leight Monroe
215 11th Street, Miami
Georgia
Mrs. Beatrice Castleton
312 Healy Building, Atlanta
Idaho
Mrs. Fred Walker
Blackfoot
Illinois
Mrs. Bertram Sippy
Lilley, Mich.

Indiana
Mrs. M. J. Anderson
932 N. Rural St.
Indianapolis
Iowa
Mrs. A. N. Beim
979 26th St., Des Moines
Kansas
Miss Maude Mary Kline
Topeka
Louisiana
Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston
5321 Freret St., New Orleans
Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan Street, Portland
Maryland
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
817 North Charles St., Baltimore
Massachusetts
Mrs. James R. Carret
114 Upland Road, Cambridge
Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit
Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Avenue, St. Paul
Mississippi
Mrs. A. C. R. Richardson
313 N. State Street
Jackson
Missouri
Mrs. Edith Barriger
5430 Cabanne Avenue, St. Louis

Montana
Mrs. C. S. Haire
528 Hemlock Street, Helena
Nevada
Mrs. M. S. Bonnifield
Winnemucca
New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
709 Union Building, Clinton St.,
Newark
New Mexico
Mrs. Joshua Raynolds
308 South High Street, Albuquerque
New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
13 East 41st Street, New York City
Mrs. John Winters Brannan (acting)
125 East 57th Street, New York City
North Carolina
Mrs. Arthur Taylor
805 Worthington Ave., Charlotte
North Dakota
Mrs. Elizabeth Darrow O'Neil
714 Eighth Street, Fargo
Ohio
Mrs. Valentine Winters
319 West 1st St., Dayton
Oregon
Dr. Florence Manion
1010 Selling Building, Portland
Pennsylvania
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy
213 Hale Bldg., Philadelphia

Porto Rico
Mrs. A. Froscher, Jr.,
15 Carretera, Canturce
Rhode Island
Mrs. Richard Jackson Barker
"The Outlook," Tiverton
South Carolina
Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
Greenville
South Dakota
Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls
Tennessee
Mrs. L. Crozier French
620 West Cumberland Ave., Knoxville
Texas
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe
909 West 18th Street, Austin
Utah
Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins
37 South 6th St. East, Salt Lake City
Vermont
Mrs. J. Borden Estee
Montpelier
Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace Street, Richmond
Washington
Mrs. Frederick Forrest
2417 Pacific Ave., Spokane
Wisconsin
Miss Ada James
Richland Center
Wyoming
Dr. Frances M. Lane, Cody

National Advisory Council

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, N. Y.
Secretary, Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles E. Amidon, N. Dak.
Miss Jessie Ashley, N. Y.
Dr. S. Josephine Baker, N. Y.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, N. Y.
Mrs. William B. Boulton, N. J.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, N. J.
Mrs. Virginia M. Branner, Iowa
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. Anne Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah
Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Avery Coonley, Ill.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. Julius Crisler, Miss.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.
Dr. Maria M. Dean, Mont.
Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield, N. Y.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. William Floyd, N. Y.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Cal.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. W. E. Hardy, Neb.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Cal.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elon Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Miss Mary Ingham, Pa.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Mrs. Otto Kirchner, Mich.
Mrs. Alexander Kohut, N. Y.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Mrs. William B. Lamar, Ga.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Miss Stephanie Levert, La.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Pa.
Miss Belle McGibeny, N. J.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Mrs. Harris Masterson, Texas
Miss Edythe Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Miss Vida Milholland, N. Y.
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, Kans.
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, Md.
Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Amos Pinchot, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. Nina G. Proctor, N. Y.
Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Henry Ridgly, Del.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Mich.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Miss Grace Strachan, N. Y.
Dr. Elizabeth Thelberg, N. Y.
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Mary C. Therkelsen, Ore.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Texas
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. John Jay White, D. C.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Ill.

Notes of the Week

Taxation and Representation

THE latest compilation of the appropriations passed and pending for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, shows a total of $16,971,414,281. This means a tax burden of $848.57 for each of the 20,000,000 families now living in the United States.

This sum is divided among the army, loans to allies, navy, merchant ships, aviation, President's war fund, pensions, post office, food control, interest on loans, war risk insurance. More than nine-tenths of this vast burden must be borne for the sake of war "for democracy" abroad.

The women of the nation will have to meet their average per capita assessment of $170 equally with the men. And meanwhile the government that lays this tax burden refuses recognition to women, and permits its employes to assault and mistreat those who are waging their brave fight for democracy at home at the gates of the White House.

Liberty, Justice and Fair Play

VISCOUNT K. ISHII, of the Japanese mission to the United States, said, "we shall proceed to Washington carrying to your great President and to the American people a message of fraternity, confidence and cheer. It is our ambition to impress upon the American people the solemn fact that Japan stands with you, heart and soul, in your lofty purpose to make this world the abiding place of liberty, justice and fair play."

The Envoy is speeding on his way to Washington, where today a small group of women, battling for "liberty, justice, and fair play," are being attacked by mobs of government clerks, marines of our navy, and soldiers. Is this the lofty purpose to which the Viscount refers?

Repairing the Ravages of Democracy

SUPPRESSION that does not suppress may finally drive the various censors of this country to the pass to which the French have recently been reduced. They have introduced a bill into the Chamber "for the restoration of freedom of speech." Attempting to suppress pickets, to suppress the radical press, to suppress opinion, in short, may drive this democracy to a like step.

In speaking of the French situation, the *Christian Science Monitor* comments: "The result is that the country of the Revolution is faced with another form of tyranny, a 'dictatorship of silence,' which would prevent a free people from knowing the truth, and defeat its own end by exciting the public imagination and producing rumor, which is something far more dangerous to deal with than truth. The amazing part about this censorship nuisance is that not even the best intentions seem proof against its arbitrariness."

Woman Suffrage for Hawaii

IN the Senate of the War Congress on August 13 a favorable report was made by Senator Shafroth from the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico on the bill to empower the Hawaiian legislature to extend suffrage to women and submit the question to voters of the territory.

The *Congressional Record* refers to the bill as one giving "additional powers relative to elections and qualifications of electors." But the caption is "Woman Suffrage in Hawaii."

Proofs that suffrage for women is a war measure seem to be piling up all over the world.

A Loyal Soldier

TOUCHING were the words of Mme. Breshkovskaia, on her return to Russia after thirty-three years of imprisonment in Siberia. She went into exile with men and women alike in bondage. She came back to the free Russia she, with thousands of other noble souls, had helped create.

This aged woman has again taken up her work of education and agitation. She said: "You have met me as if I were a kind of heroine. Now, what of a heroic nature have you discovered in me? I have only done this one thing all my life: I have tried to be a good, loyal soldier, true to my post and to my work. Thirty-three years of prison and of deportation have limited my opportunities for work. Only eleven years of work, in constant danger of discovery by the authorities and under legal disabilities, have fallen to my share. My work is not heroic work; it is quiet, slow work from day to day—but it is such work that the nation needs. Just at present I am organizing a center for the printing and distribution of good literature among the rural population. Soon I mean to travel from place to place to instruct the people in the far-away districts as to the aims and objects of our present time."

Women Conscripted

DURING the past week, the Pennsylvania railroad shops at Fort Wayne have called for six hundred women workers, to don "bifurcated uniforms" and assume the work of "the distribution of material, cleaning cars, and caretaking at the plant" to take the places of men summoned for military service.

Women in overalls are already at work in the Philadelphia plant of the General Electric Company, "operating lathes, and running the drill punches."

The Committee on Agriculture of the Mayor's Committee on National Defense in New York proposes to solve the farm labor problem by organizing the women of the state into farm centers on the unit plan, each unit of from six to fifty women to have its own cooks, tents, and tools.

In Tampa, Florida, a Woman's Home Guard Company, under the leadership of Mrs. John C. White, has been formed "to defend their homes with arms should this become necessary."

So the work of recruiting women for industrial, agricultural, and military service in this "war for democracy" goes on, and the leader of the government which exacts this service and sacrifice continues to refuse to women any voice in the government to which they submit.

"Democracy Begins at Home"

FREE Russia, we are told, is skeptical of the sincerity of America, skeptical of our purpose in entering the war, and skeptical of our peace aims. According to Mr. Charles Edward Russell, a member of the mission, we could remove this Russian suspicion by sending our own men to the Russian front. Will Americans conscripted and sent to the Eastern front, establish the confidence of the Russians in us? Only "Free America" can win the confidence of Free Russia, and until the twenty million unenfranchised Americans are given a voice in their government there is no "Free America."

A Small Favor

NEW YORK State is contemplating an emergency amendment to the election law, to permit the 120,000 men who will be out of the State for military service to vote in the fall elections. In view of the prospective dearth of watchers at the polls at home, it is urged that watchers need be only citizens, not electors of the county. As an emergency measure during this "war for democracy" women may be permitted to count ballots, but an autocratic government continues to deny them the right to cast their own votes.

America Last

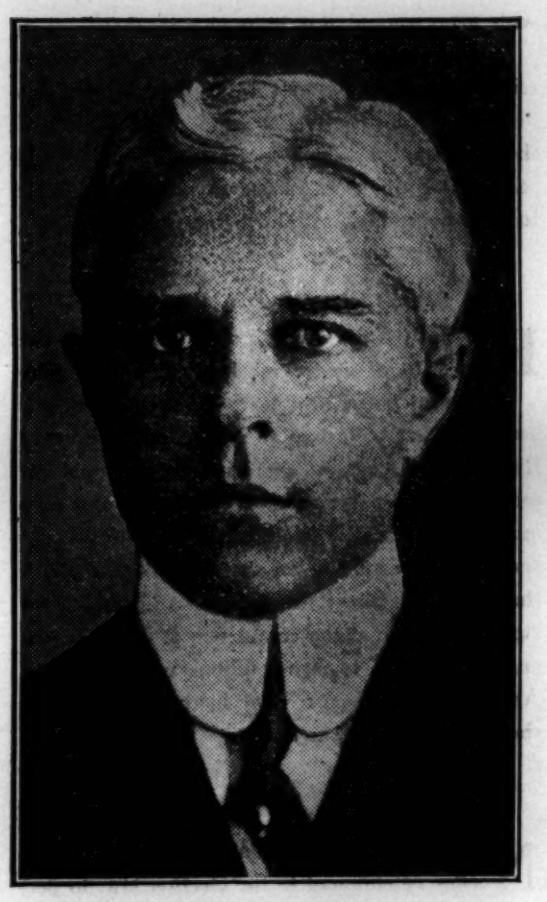
ENGLISH women, now certain of enfranchisement, their bill having passed the necessary three readings in the House of Commons, are turning their eyes to the future. The National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies of Great Britain is planning to continue its organization for social and economic reform work. To discuss the plan of such work two great meetings were last month held for the planning of housing, public health, educational, penal and criminal law reform, and child welfare, work doubly necessary in the face of the war.

In Hungary the contemplated franchise reforms propose to include property-owning and tax-paying women, a great step ahead. In Italy the three important socialist and labor parties—the General Federation of Labor, the Socialist Parliamentary Party, and the Socialist Party, have demanded equal and direct suffrage for every citizen without sex discrimination. This is the third item in their program of internal reform which they declare must be entered on at once.

These facts should shame the responsible head of this respublic now embarked on a crusade of world democratization.

An Open Letter to Chairman Webb

Of the House Judiciary Committee



J. A. H. Hopkins of New Jersey

THE President granted me an appointment in answer to a letter from me in which I distinctly emphasized that I was not presenting any personal argument on the behalf of the imprisoned suffragists, but that I simply wished to call his attention to certain matters which had come under my observation, of which the President, surrounded as he is, by the various perplexities of the war situation, was possibly unaware. At the outset of our interview I emphasized this again and stated that, while he was the champion of democracy at home, and while we were engaged in a war having for its object the establishment of democracy abroad, practically every act of Congress and the Administration, since war was declared, had been of an autocratic character. As evidence of this I cited several illustrations, for instance:

(1) That hundreds of men in the West had been arbitrarily and lawlessly taken from their homes, loaded into cattle cars, and deported to other States without adequate protest or action by the administration.

(2) That many newspapers of comparatively small circulation had been arbitrarily excluded from the mails without a hearing, whereas, influential newspapers which were guilty of the same offenses (if any offense existed) had been left undisturbed.

(3) That it had been announced in the public press that the administration intended to establish a secret blacklist, one of the most iniquitous measures imaginable.

(4) That while calling upon women for every kind of service and sacrifice in connection with the war, the administration had steadfastly refused to pass the suffrage amendment.

(5) That men and women all over the country who were anxious to give their entire time and energy to the successful prosecution of the war, had, by reason of these facts, and especially, by the failure to pass the suffrage amendment, been compelled to devote a good portion of their time to establishing democracy at home.

I POINTED out to the President that because of this situation the entire country was in a state of unrest, that hardly a day passed without a visible evidence of this fact, and that we were, in my judgment, standing on a volcano which might at any moment be roused to action.

Viewing this situation, I called his attention to the fact that the totally unwarranted arrest of the sixteen suffrage pickets and their conviction and sentences of sixty days in the workhouse after a trial which was one of the most outrageous and farcical procedures I had ever witnessed, had aroused such general indignation that, unless it was immediately remedied, it might have very serious results.

The President stated to me that he had never at any time objected to the pickets, nor had they annoyed him. He accepted my statement and took it as his own, that the sixteen pickets had not violated any law nor any ordinance and were absolutely guiltless. He criticised the judge's introduction of the Russian banner into the trial as quite out of place, and volunteered the statement that he, the President, did not consider this banner either treasonable or seditious. He finally asked me what I thought should be done, and when I told him a pardon had been suggested, he immediately called my attention to the fact that this would only be a temporary measure of relief and did not at all solve the real problem which he agreed could only be solved by the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. He told me, however, that he could not add to the war program unless he considered additional measures were necessary as war measures, and that if he did so it would be forcing legislation, which, however, he was justified in doing if an emergency existed. Thereupon, I again referred to the very grave situation which we were facing and expressed the opinion that an emergency did exist. I reminded him that you had already advised me that your committee was ready to report the amendment, whenever the President said the word, and that Senator Jones has made the same statement in regard to the Senate Suffrage Committee. The President then discussed the probability of the measure going through Congress, and accepted my offer to furnish him with whatever information I had on this subject. This information, indicating that if the bill was made an administration measure it would easily pass both houses, was sent to the President that same evening.

As you know, the pardons were issued the next morning. Unfortunately, they were not accompanied by a statement from the President reiterating what he had said to me personally, and as a result various uninformed individuals and newspapers have taken the opportunity to assail the pickets as lawbreakers and malefactors of various kinds. Under these circumstances, I therefore, feel it my duty to acquaint you with the President's views on this subject, as stated to me, without qualifications.

SINCE then the fears which I expressed have been corroborated in many ways. The armed resistance to the conscription law in many States, reported in the press, is one instance of it. The totally unnecessary severity of the various trials of so-called non-conscriptionists and anarchists have likewise aroused considerable feeling, even among those who do not sympathize with their methods. The apparent indifference of the administration to the lynching of F. H. Little, whatever his offence may have been, is startling, while the continued illegal opening and detention of private mail and the equally illegal interference with private telegrams is affecting so many groups that the suspicion is rapidly growing that bureaucratic despotism is becoming brazen.

Unless Congress realizes the situation and exerts its utmost power to maintain democracy at home, the time will, in my judgment, soon arrive when we will have to face a crisis too serious to consider with equanimity.

The members of Congress, and especially your committee, can go a long way towards allaying this unrest by reporting and passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a direct evidence that we are earnestly seeking true democracy. The President has already stated that he will do everything in his power to hasten suffrage and that if Congress takes action he will lend his influence in passing the amendment.

Whatever may be the impression that you have gained from those with whom you have come in contact in Washington, I can assure you I am expressing the opinions of the vast majority of the people in this country, and the responsibility resting upon Congress is far more serious and grave today than when I wrote you on May 23.

The tendency to ascribe pro-German motives to those who think for themselves, is not only a great injustice to the vast number of patriots who are striving for the salvation of our country, but it is a most dangerous and foolish practice. They are giving their time and energy and sacrificing more than can be explained in words because they believe in "America first," and they are deeply perturbed by reading in the papers, as well as by hearing in the very corridors of Congress itself, that the legislative branch of the Federal Government has become a mere "rubber stamp." What is Congress going to do about it?—*Yours very truly, (signed) J. A. H. Hopkins.*

The Senate Judiciary Committee Hears the Pickets

By Iris Calderhead

"CONFINE your remarks to the bill." So they were pricked at last. They had seemed asleep, but when the somnolent chairman stirred heavily toward the table to rap his gavel in interruption of Miss Winsor, it was evident that this was not just a "hearing," but that suffragists were being heard.

Senator Overman, chairman of the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary, had announced for Wednesday a hearing on the proposed Culberson bill, which would authorize the President at any time to prohibit any person from approaching or entering any place—limitless power over the acts of free men! Realizing that with such blanket authority the President or his agents could prohibit picketing, the National Woman's Party went to the "hearing" to state their case, and prevent if possible favorable action on the bill.

Miss Mary Winsor was giving an incisive analysis of the psychology of the President in order to show the committee why this imperial power should not be yielded to him, when the gavel punctuated her remarks with emphasis. The analogy of President with the man in the fable of the "Hunting of the Snark," who said the thing was so three times, and then it was so—was "expunged from the record."

MISS YOUNGER, who acted as chairman of the Woman's Party speakers, introduced those who followed Miss Winsor as pickets, who, with a single exception, had already served sentences in the District prison and in the Occoquan workhouse, because of determination of the government to suppress their only effective means of petition.

Miss Katherine Morey, the first of the picket prisoners to speak in protest of this further attempt to abolish picketing, said:

"Picketing—the peaceful petition to the government—is our constitutional right, notwithstanding the fact that we have been imprisoned for acting upon this right. Knowing the past record of the government toward this peaceable method of petition, which is now continuing, as before the days of arrests and imprisonment, we are naturally very sensitive to any legal measure that might be construed, in spite of the Constitution, against that right"

Mary Gertrude Fendall, introduced as the girl who had managed the picket line all last winter, voiced, with her gentle Southern accent, a vigorous protest against this wholly unconstitutional bill.

The expression of the committee gradually mellowed from one of perhaps amused curiosity as to how these women might defend themselves, to an expression of kindly interest.

MRS. ABBY SCOTT BAKER submitted to the committee the long list of the fifty-seven arrests and the thirty-two imprisonments of pickets which comprised the activities of only a single month of the government's persecution against the pickets when illegal means were employed to suppress them. "With such an administration record in the past what would the government not do under the unlimited authority of this bill?"

"This bill not only will affect our picketing," said Mrs. Gilson Gardner, "but appears to us to be definitely aimed at that activity. We assume that this bill is a part of the obstructionist tactics of the administration. We must believe it to be an administration measure or it would not receive your thought and attention. And as such this bill is clearly an attempt to legalize the illegal acts already committed in our previous arrests and imprisonments."

But, after all, committee hearings are committee hearings, and many of our javelins were bound to miss aim. My dart was: "The President already bears the burden of dishonoring in the nation's capital the cause for which he is forcing American men to give their lives in Europe. Do not add the burden of making him further dishonor the cause of liberty by giving him the power to deny us even the right to ask for liberty," but the committee did not stir.

IT was not until Doris Stevens strode to the front of the committee room and said, with rousing emphasis: "Well, gentlemen, here we stand!" that the gentlemen sat once more at attention. "Here we stand—the fourth generation of American women to ask for freedom. And today we find ourselves in the cruelly false position, not of asking for liberty, but of asking for the right to ask for liberty. The Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Nelson) is said not to like the picketing. Well, neither do we! It is not the right to picket that we are fighting for, but freedom itself!

"We have come to you in the Senate and to your colleagues in the House repeatedly, asking for the enfranchisement of women, and we would be heedless, indeed, if we did not act upon your answer that you must wait to hear from the President. Congress is impotent in the face of the autocratic ruler in the White House." Even Senator Overman, that bulwark of Democracy's defense, chuckled appreciatively, as a good fighter would, at this telling thrust.

"We will close our testimony at this time, Mr. Chairman," said Miss Maud Younger, "as the time for our usual picket schedule is almost at hand."

Senator Overman asked that the National Woman's Party submit an amendment to the bill, which they gladly did. Thus ended the hearing on—was it the Culberson Bill, or the Susan B. Anthony amendment?

An Open Letter to President Wilson

WE are so sorry that we don't seem to have made ourselves clear to you. You see it's like this: We want the vote. Many of us suffragists have worked for the vote all our lives. We got into the thing by wanting to help our mothers who had worked for the vote all their lives, inspired by the memories of their mothers who had been in the fight with Susan B. Anthony.

We are convinced that three generations of women working for the vote is enough. We are determined so to shape American history that our daughters may work *with* the vote, not *for* it.

Since the great and terrible war began we have been learning a good deal about political changes—about revolutions.

And the thing that has struck us of the National Woman's Party most forcibly is that political improvements do not come about as the result of the exercise of tact and charm and co-operation. In the past, we admit, we have been tactful. We have sought to prove our fitness for self-government by a charming spirit of co-operation with the masters of our political destinies. Some of us have even worked very hard for you.

But, believe us, Mr. President, those happy days are past. We would like you to like us; we would like Congress to like us, but, at present, being approved is not the important thing. The important thing is that justice should be meted out to one-half of the citizens here in America.

We are sorry to disturb you during these trying times, but we shall continue to disturb you. Surely you, as a historian, know that changes are not wrought through tranquility, but through action.

We appreciate the fact that you must be very tired of reading your own words every day as you go in and out of the White House, beautiful and true though the words are that we have quoted on our banners. But we are more tired still. Each of us longs to be at a greater task than this merely preliminary one of vote-getting.

Release yourself and us, Mr. President, from this equivocal situation, where we seem to wish to embarrass the government that we so earnestly desire to serve. You seem to be indifferent to the plea that "Democracy Begins at Home." And let us point out that it is not through the harrassed Washington police that any solution of this difficulty can come. It is Congress which can restore peace between us—when it shall have received the word from you!—*Anne Herendeen, The Woman's Party, New York.*

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editors

Miss Vivian Pierce — Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Miss Lavinia Dock — Miss Crystal Eastman — Miss Pauline Jacobson
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Fola La Follette

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department

Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins — *Circulation*, Miss Elizabeth Smith

Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

35

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Kaiser Wilson

THE attacks of excited boys and United States sailors on the women in Washington who carried banners to the White House protesting against the autocracy of "Kaiser Wilson," have at least served the purpose of publishing throughout the country the legend of the women's banner and their demand upon the President of the United States for justice.

"Kaiser Wilson," the banner reads, "Have you forgotten how you sympathized with the poor Germans because they were not self-governed?—Twenty million American women are not self-governed—Take the beam out of your own eye."

The banner says boldly what millions of American women have long thought in their hearts. For twenty million women the President of the United States is no President at all. He is not their elected representative. He rules over them by sheer autocratic power—the very type of power he denounces in Austria and Germany.

For years women have been struggling to alter the autocratic relation of the President to them into a fair and democratic relation;—and the struggle of a disfranchised class, destitute of power as they are, to lift themselves into enfranchisement, is a desperately hard one. It is a fight without weapons against a foe armed at all points. Again and again women have called upon the President, in the name of justice and democracy, to help them, and he has always refused. At last they have learned by studying the strategy of political warfare that their most obstinate opponent is the President himself, who, as the leader of the political forces dominating the nation, stands right across the road—rough and toilsome enough without his opposition—that leads from the ancient servitude of women to justice and liberty.

American women have good reason to feel that they have no President,—that the political incumbent at the White House has no moral claim whatever upon their allegiance. They stand entirely outside of the democratic scheme; and the President's constant flow of shallow phrases on freedom and democracy moves them to frank scorn.

But when this mock President has the effrontery to lead the nation in arms against the autocracy of the whole world—autocracy unlocalized and unspecified;—when he drafts the young men of America in millions to die "for democracy" in foreign countries;—when he issues a special appeal to women to give their work, their money, and their heart's happiness "for the democratization of the world,"—women are stung to open protest. They will not be a party to the hypocrisy of a President who is ready to fling the life of others away for the liberty of foreign lands, while he himself refuses to take the peaceful legislative steps leading to the orderly establishment of liberty in our own country.

President Onlooker at Mob Attack on Suffragists

KAISER WILSON: Have you forgotten your sympathy with the poor Germans because they were not self-governed? Twenty million American women are not self-governed. Take the beam out of your own eye."

This is the banner which has been repeatedly carried to the picket line at the gates of the White House this week, while the police stood by and saw it torn down and destroyed, with no attempt to protect the women or their property.

On one occasion the banner was snatched by a sailor and destroyed as the car in which President and Mrs. Wilson were on their way to Fort Myer was passing through the gate. This afforded the President the spectacle of Capital policemen refusing protection to American citizens who stood at his gate to ask for political liberty.

For two hours on Tuesday, August 14, a mob of five thousand people stood in Madison Place, outside the Woman's Party headquarters, and not only blocked traffic, but destroyed property and endangered life without interference from the District police. The trouble started at four o'clock, when Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado Springs, left Cameron House carrying the banner addressed to "Kaiser Wilson."

This banner has been displayed on the picket line for five days, to be torn down by passersby. It was torn down once the first day it was carried out, and three times the second day. With one exception, the offenders were sailors in uniform. The exception was James Delaney, a clerk in the navy department, who snatched the banner from Miss Lucy Burns at the west gate of the White House. Delaney ran across Lafayette Square with his trophy, and was not pursued. The next morning, however, Miss Katherine Morey, of Boston, telephoned him at his office, and demanded the return of the banner.

"I'll give it back if you promise never to carry it again on the picket line," he said.

"We are making no conditions," replied Miss Morey. "We are simply demanding the return of our property. The last man who destroyed one of our flags was given his choice between a twenty-five-dollar fine or sixty days in the workhouse."

Delaney was evidently impressed by this fact. "I'll bring it over as soon as I can get off," he promised.

A few minutes later a man called headquarters on the telephone to say, "I'm Delaney's chief. I'm sending him over with your banner. Please take him in the back room and spank him." Delaney's only comment when he returned the banner was, "I—I only did it on the spur of the moment."

BUT on the day following, Miss Gray was not even allowed to take up a position at the east gate of the White House, before her banner was snatched and destroyed by a man in the uniform of a sailor of the United States navy. Miss Gray came back to headquarters for another banner, and she and Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of New York, started out together. Their banners were destroyed at the corner. The crowd began to move up Madison Place, constantly growing as the government clerks from the various departments began to leave their offices for the day. Miss Morey got only across the street, before a fourth banner was torn to pieces. Mrs. William Upton Watson, of Chicago, started out of the headquarters away from the mob, intending to cross to the White House through Lafayette Square. A chauffeur jumped from his car and tore away her banner.

Miss Lucy Burns stood on the threshhold of Cameron House with a banner in her hands. Three sailors in uniform sprang on her, dragged her and her banner to the curb, and tore the banner to bits. Miss Burns, Miss Virginia Arnold, and Miss Stuyvesant then took banners to the second and third floor balconies and hung them out. By this time the crowd completely blocked Madison Place.

There were only two police officers present, and they made no attempt to move the crowd back, to clear the street for traffic, or to protect the women from the sailors who attacked them on their own doorstep. The police also made no effort to interfere with three sailors who brought a ladder from the Belasco Theater, leaned it against the side of Cameron House, and climbed up to the second floor balcony. These sailors not only tore down the "Kaiser Wilson" banner, but the American flag, which hung from a standard on the balcony, and also a large purple, white and gold flag of the Woman's Party.

The narrow second floor balcony was the scene of intense excitement for a few minutes. The sailors snatched the banners as soon as they climbed over the railing. One sailor struck Miss Georgiana Sturgis, of Washington, with his clenched fist. "Why did you do that?" demanded the injured woman. The man halted a moment in amazement. "I don't know," he said. Then with a violent wrench he tore the banner from her hands and ran down the ladder.

For a moment it seemed possible that Miss Burns would be dragged over the railing of the balcony onto the palings below by the banner, which was wrapped about her hands, but the flag was torn loose by two sailors before any serious accident occurred.

BY this time the mob had been assembled for over an hour, with no police interference.

It was shortly before five o'clock that a bullet was fired, making a round hole through one of the heavy glass windows on the second floor of Cameron House, and embedding itself in the ceiling. The bullet passed about eighteen inches over the head of Mrs. Ella Morton Dean, of Montana, who was seated in the window.

Two precinct detectives and Captain Flather, of the First Precinct, who later examined the holes, declared that they were made by a .38 calibre revolver.

A fresh banner was brought to replace those torn down and the crowd began to throw eggs and tomatoes. The police reserves arrived about a quarter after five, and in less than five minutes moved the crowd back to the curb, at the same time clearing the street to permit traffic to pass. But they paid no attention to the sailors and few civilians who continued to throw eggs and tear down banners.

Presently four women left the headquarters carrying two purple, white and gold banners, a "Kaiser Wilson" banner, and Inez Milholland's banner, "Without extinction is liberty, without retrograde is equality." All these banners were destroyed in front of the Belasco Theater. Then four more banner bearers started out, carrying only purple, white and gold flags. These were also destroyed before they reached Pennsylvania Avenue.

Meanwhile Mrs. William Upton Watson, of Chicago, and Mrs. Florence Morrill, of Boston, had gone out by a back entrance with banners furled, and taken their positions at the White House gates, without being noticed by the crowd.

A small guard of policemen stood close to them. Presently, however, they were seen by the mob, which left Madison Place and moved down Pennsylvania Avenue. The police forbade anyone to come near the women, and they remained for nearly an hour. Then a sailor crept along the palings behind them, and snatched their flags.

All of these disturbances have occurred within the sight and hearing of President Wilson, who appoints the police head of this apparently undefended capital.

COMMENTING on the attitude of the administration to suffragists fighting for the freedom of American women, Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Woman's Party, said: "We have no true democracy in this country, though we are fighting for democracy abroad. Twenty million American citizens are denied a voice in their own government. We must let the public know that this intolerable situation exists because, toward women, President Wilson has adopted the attitude of an autocratic ruler. We have stood at the gates of the White House for six months in silent protest. We have gone to prison for asking for liberty at home. We have to make the situation definite and concrete, so that people will understand that in the White House we have a ruler who is refusing liberty to American citizens, while he is asking our men to die for democracy abroad.

THE situation now existing in Washington exists because President Wilson permits it.

Orders were first handed down to the police to attack suffragists. The clamor over their imprisonments made this position untenable. The police were then ordered to protect suffragists. They have now been ordered to encourage irresponsible crowds to attack suffragists. No police head would dare so to besmirch his record without orders from his responsible chief. The responsible chief in the national Capital is the President of the United States."

The New Woman's Party Plan—"Trail the Administration"

WITH final summer conferences being held this month in Kentucky and New Hampshire, the nation-wide organization of the National Woman's Party for the federal amendment will be completed in time for an autumn campaign which will, on the closing of Congress, take Woman's Party speakers into every State in the Union in the wake of administration speakers.

Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, Southern field secretary for the Woman's Party, has opened headquarters in the Seelbach Hotel in Louisville, where, with a local board, preparations for the Kentucky State Conference to be held next week are being made. The famous "demand banner" of the Woman's Party now decorates the main stairway of the hotel, and the mezzanine office is gay with the Woman's Party colors. In a State which has never entered the federal suffrage fight, Mrs. Thompson says lack of interest in the federal short-cut has sprung merely from lack of knowledge.

In New Hampshire Miss Joy Young, organizer for the National Woman's Party, is assisting Mrs. George H. Rublee in planning the State Conference to be held in Concord at the end of the month. At the opening Woman's Party meeting held in Portsmouth last week at the home of Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, Mrs. Rublee, Miss Joy Young, and Mr. George A. Wood were the speakers. The latter is a member of the New Hampshire legislature and one of the State's best known suffrage champions. He introduced the Presidential suffrage bill into the legislature last session.

"The Old Rectory," at which the meeting was held, is one of the landmarks of New England. Among those interested in the coming conference are Miss Adela Barrett, the Misses Heffinger, Mrs. A. Kautz, and Mrs. George Hill, who was a pioneer suffrage picket in Washington last winter.

IN Michigan and Indiana Miss Margaret Whittemore and Mrs. Betsy Graves Reyneau, both of whom served time on the picket line and time in prison, are telling women and men who had never before realized the irony of the President's sending their sons abroad to fight for democracy, the inside story of the fight women are making for democracy in America.

"Women have waited for their freedom long enough," said Mrs. Reyneau. "We have some power now with 7,000,000 voting women and we are going to use it, and President Wilson and Congress know it. We cannot logically fight for democracy for the rest of the world when we refuse to do this fundamentally democratic thing at home.

"American women have never been militant. The British women stopped their methods of violence because they wouldn't be very impressive compared with the violence of a great war, but they did not stop their work for the vote and it was Mrs. Pankhurst who forced Lloyd George to promise equal suffrage with the threat that he would have a rebellion on his hands worse by far than the Irish one. And it was because he knew they meant it that he gave the promise.

"In Washington after I was released from prison, I saw Representative Doremus, and he confessed that he was wonderfully impressed by our courage—so much so that, although he is fundamentally opposed to equal suffrage, he asked me if ever I were arrested again for picketing, to notify him so that he could come and pay my fine!

"'I don't think you understand yet, Mr. Doremus,' I said. 'My husband wired me that he would not insult me by offering to pay my fine. If you want to do anything for me, work for the federal suffrage amendment.'"

THE adjournment of Congress, the signal for the President, his Cabinet and Congress, to go through the country interpreting the aims of the administration in its war for democracy abroad, will also send into the field the best speakers of the Woman's Party, who will tell of the dereliction of the administration in regard to democracy at home.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker and her assistants will speak in the large centers of the Coast and Rocky Mountain States; Miss Mabel Vernon, of Delaware, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, will tour the Middle Western States; while Miss Maud Younger, of California, the chief lobbyist of the Woman's Party, will speak in every Southern State.

Catching Up with Russia

By Mary Winsor

IN the New York Constitutional Convention of 1894 Mr. Elihu Root opposed the enfranchisement of women on the ground that political life was a battle and the female sex—Mr. Root belongs to that generation who referred to women as "females"—not strong enough to wage any kind of warfare, illustrating his argument from his experience of weak women in the persons of his own family, "whose hands were too feeble and nerveless to grasp the ballot," or any weapon.

From that stand taken twenty-three years ago Mr. Root has never departed. He has now returned from Russia with a variation of it which seems to be that not until regiments of women have faced death on the battlefield are they entitled to the vote. The sight of women marching away to war is an "inspiring sight" to Mr. Root and he intimates that the women of these United States should "earn a right to enfranchisement" by gladdening his eyes with a similar spectacle.

What do the men of our country think of this sinister proposition? How will they deal with politicians, such as Mr. Root, and President Wilson, who never themselves took up arms to defend America, but are now calling upon the women to purchase the franchise with our blood? For Mr. Wilson is implicated in this demand of Mr. Root's. Mr. Root is the President's appointee, and the President is responsible for him.

Mr. Wilson should at once repudiate this unmanly and inhuman suggestion by assuring the women of America that the vote is to be theirs, and quickly. The President has boundless power; Congress apparently exists only to do his bidding, and the amendment would go through at a word from the White House.

"Let the men of America," says Mr. Root, "look to these heroic women fighters of Russia and hang their heads in shame." Rather let the men of America look to the men of Russia, and hang their heads in shame, for the Russians have given their women the vote and given it freely without haggling or bargaining long before the regiment of women was formed.

When Mr. Root was sent to Russia we did not think him the best possible exponent of democracy, but consoled ourselves with the hope that contact with a true democracy might prove instructive. Education of men of that type is expensive and tedious, and all our envoy seems to have acquired during his stay in Russia is an eagerness to sacrifice his own countrywomen—especially those tainted with a love of freedom.

He has learned nothing, but we—what can we learn from all this? Surely, the folly of trying to win the ballot by concessions to masculine opinion, by trying to please men with "womanly work." Now comes this monstrous and unprecedented demand that we ourselves do "men's work" by killing and being killed.

Let us taken our stand that American women do not need to prove their fitness for liberty. It is our birthright—a debt long overdue, and let us concentrate our efforts on the man in the White House into whose hands has been given power more than autocratic and wholly sufficient to pass without further delay the suffrage amendment, or any other war measure for the benefit of the country.

Comments of the Press

A Black Month for Freedom

THE suffrage pickets in front of the White House, set upon by mobs of government clerks, then by the police, arrested time and time again upon no charge, and finally committed to the workhouse for sixty days, were, as the world knows, hurriedly pardoned by the President as soon as it was evident how prominent they and their husbands were. But at the same time that he pardoned them for their "crime," he intimated that he was too busy over his "War for Democracy" to give any attention to their petition—which was a petition for the fundamental rights of citizens.

It is the blackest month for freedom our generation has known.—*John Reed in The Masses, September, 1917.*

A Letter to Senator Jones

TO SENATOR JONES, of New Mexico:

You say you are a friend of woman suffrage.

Why is it, then, that you, as chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, refuse to allow the question to come before the United States senate for discussion? Why do you block consideration by withholding from that body the report your committeemen have authorized you to make?

Every one of the nine members of your committee, including you, believes in the national suffrage amendment.

As early as last May the members of your committee unanimously ordered a favorable report to be made by you to the Senate.

Yesterday, when asked in the senate by leading Republicans—Senators Cummins, Norris, Gronna, Jones of Washington, Johnson of California, and others, why you had not concurred in the will of the committee you said you had no time to make the report.

Suppose, Senator Jones, the women of the country should say: "We have no time to bear sons for your war; we have no time to knit for the soldiers you send to war; we have no time to bind wounds made in your war; we have no time to conserve food for your warriors?"

What do you suppose would happen to the country? You need not suppose, for women don't adopt such tactics, they leave that to Senators.

"Lack of time" will not satisfy the women of the nation whose sons are being taken from them to fight "for democracy abroad." They want democracy at home.

The women demand to know what unseen power is preventing you from allowing free discussion of this just reform. The women think you are responsible for the suffrage blockade. If you are not, tell them, Senator Jones, and tell the United States Senate who is responsible.—*Doris Stevens in Washington, D. C., Times, August 3, 1917.*

In the First Line Trenches

IN these times of large business transactions, the largest that history has ever recorded, Pennsylvania avenue is probably traversed daily by more important personages than any other street in the world. From the capitol west on Pennsylvania avenue to Fifteenth street, up Fifteenth street to Pennsylvania avenue on to the White House or the State, War, and Navy buildings "big" men are constantly going to and from conferences, where the destinies of nations are being decided.

When these men reach Executive avenue they are always greeted by familiar faces—the faces of the suffragist pickets, who daily station themselves in the "first-line trenches" of the nation's executive headquarters. True, shifts are made in the ranks of these silent sentinels, but the constant pedestrian along this street has become familiar with these changes, and some even know the exact time at which they occur.—*Washington Post, August 8, 1917.*

Pardoning Pickets

THE pardoning of sixteen women pickets by President Wilson may be regarded as a step in the right direction. It may be deemed in some measure as a rebuke to the police who prosecuted the women and to the judge who convicted and sentenced them, but nothing short of the immediate submission, on the President's demand, of the Susan B. Anthony amendment can atone in any measure for the indignities that have been heaped upon the group of suffragists who have seen fit to follow the mild militancy of picketing the White House.

Regardless of how any suffragist may have felt with reference to the policy and methods of the National Woman's Party in general, and the White House picketing in particular, it seems to us that all believers in and workers for the political freedom of women, must feel that the treatment accorded the pickets in recent weeks by the government, is an affront to the womanhood of America.

When we think of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, and Anne Martin, and other women like them being sent to the workhouse for sixty days, merely because they persisted in quietly holding aloft at the gates of the nation's executive mansion banners demanding the enfranchisement of women, we almost imagine that we are living in the Russia-that-was or the England-that-used-to-be. If these women had thrown bombs or destroyed property there would be some sense in the punishment.

That the object of the courts (which, be it remembered, in the District of Columbia are under federal control) was to force the women to admit themselves guilty of wrong-doing by paying a fine, or take an extreme alternative, is evident from the fact that the fine was only twenty-five dollars, while the alternative was sixty days in the workhouse.

The practice of using the machinery of our courts to intimidate and persecute those who happen to oppose the existing political order, and whose opposition is having some results, is becoming a menace to the very foundations of free government.

There is abundant reason to believe that the President intervened in behalf of the pickets only when the pressure became so strong that he could not do otherwise, which emphasizes the dangerous shoals toward which our democracy is headed.

The leaders of the Woman's Party hit the nail squarely on the head when they sent forth the word that it is justice and not pardons which they demand of the President and Congress.—*The Patriot Phalanx, August 3, 1917.*

President's Prejudice Abating

SUFFRAGE by States is a slow and unsatisfactory process at best and we have been moving at a war-accelerating pace toward a different policy as a matter of national necessity. Somehow when the nation is in danger and there are big problems to solve we forget all about "state rights" and look to Washington. It is so in the matter of food control, of prohibition and transportation and much else. And assuredly the granting of the vote to the women of the nation is a national, not a State, question.

Yet, if the truth were known, at the bottom of congressional refusal to submit to the nation woman's right to vote is the old prejudice, sectional and partisan. The race question in the South, the lingering for and hankering after the "lost cause," serve as brakes upon the wheel of progress along this direction.

President Wilson has not been free from his party's prejudice in respect of woman's suffrage. The "solid South" has to be reckoned with so long as he remains at the White House. But he is not altogether forgetful of the rest of the nation and the demand for equality and he is moving apace, slowly but surely, to the point where he will decree that now the stage has been reached when the admission of women to a share in government has gone beyond State boundary lines.

It is because there is justice behind the woman's battle for equality and freedom that the picket maintained at the White House has been winner against local interference. At first there was resentment at the action of the Susan Anthony amendment party, but later that disappeared to some extent. It is admitted in a number of quarters that it is a righteous cause that is being fought for and now is the time to secure it.—*Denver Rocky Mountain News, August 2, 1917.*

And the Number is Growing

TOO large a number of the suffragists appear to approve the tactics adopted and followed by the branch known as the National Woman's Party.—*Olean (New York) Herald, July 28,*

Comments

The New Suffragists

WHILE we have been at variance with the National Woman's Party on various occasions, we can express only our unqualified admiration of the brave single-mindedness with which its members have stuck to their risky job in these days, when conforming is not only so much more comfortable, but also brings with it so much applause.

Whether the mobbing and arresting and imprisoning of the suffrage pickets in Washington is going to advance or retard the suffrage movement, we neither know nor care. For that is the least important thing about the whole affair.

What is important is that these suffragists are big enough and brave enough to tell a part, at least, of the truth about the American brand of democracy that the world is to be made safe for. The important thing is that these suffragists of the National Woman's Party refuse to wallow in smug hypocrisy and self-advancing political patriotism. They refuse to lick the hands of a government that ignores their rights at home and misrepresents their rights abroad. They refuse to become the right hand of a government that persists in ruling solely with its left hand. They refuse to help fight for sham freedom when they are pledged to fight for real freedom.

This, then, is the important thing about what these suffragists are doing—that they are not afraid or ashamed in these days of unleashed jingoism to be called *unpatriotic*. When that epithet is hurled at them, they reply with quiet dignity.

It is for their courage in uttering truth at this time that we owe these women admiration and gratitude. They are sick of truckling and wheedling, of pretending and diplomatizing. The issue has become too great for that now. It has become too great for everything except the truth. Either the truth must make them free, or nothing.

It may not make them win at once, but it is sure to make them grow in vision and in understanding.—*A. C. B.—New York Call, July 8.*

Neglecting a Patriotic Duty

OUT of the suffrage movement has come an army of women well equipped for all kinds of national service. The quality of our citizenship has vastly improved as a direct result of this struggle for equality. It has produced, not thousands, but millions of efficient, self-reliant women, who are now in every way as qualified as they are eager to assume a full share of the nation's grave responsibilities.

But—and this is the point—if the fight for suffrage has to go on, the great organization of women who are engaged in that struggle will in large numbers continue their efforts for citizenship. It is natural, logical, inevitable, that they should. The fullest utilization of women in this crisis will be impossible so long as their suffrage is not achieved.

Old Dutch
insures Perfect Sanitation for all Metal Ware and Enamel Surfaces. A sweet hygienic refrigerator safeguards your health and keeps food longer and better.
Old Dutch Cleanser

More than 2,000,000 are at present actively engaged in the fight for suffrage. They are able, well-trained women. They are distributed throughout the country. Although many are giving generously of their time and talent to work connected with the war, with them suffrage comes first, as it should. If Congress should now pass the constitutional amendment for equal suffrage, immediately all these women would be available for whatever service the country might require.

It seems to us that the national legislature is neglecting a plain patriotic duty in not at once taking the inevitable step.—*The Searchlight on Congress, July, 1917.*

An Ode on Our Envoy

ELIHU ROOT, who serves the corporation as the jackal serves the lion, was deliciously funny telling young men of America to go and fight—considering that HE stayed home during the Civil War.

But Mr. Root knows how to be funnier than that, and he proves it by now suggesting that possibly it would be a good idea for American women to fight also.

It is difficult to believe that a man of Root's cunning could utter such absurdities.

Mary Winsor, a young woman of Haverford, Pa., has written a poem on Mr. Root's sweet words. We print it joyfully.

Women now must learn to shoot,
For they must fight for Mr. Root.
When we to death shall march away
Mr. Root at home will stay.
When we lie bleeding on the ground
Mr. Root will be safe and sound.
Oh, happy thought! Let us learn to shoot
To make life safe for Elihu Root!

—Washington Times, August 11, 1917.

The Rayner Press
The Sign of Quality
PERSONAL SERVICE PRINTING
621 Plymouth Court CHICAGO

Wash Skirts of Your Material
WILSON
1418 Stevens Building Chicago, Ill.

THE
A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.
Denver, Colo.
A Store where no transaction is complete until the customer is satisfied.

Public Speaking
Parliamentary Law
Principles of Common Law
Practical Business Course
Paul Institute
2107 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL.B.
President
Science, Literature
Music and Art

MR. AND MRS. JOHN COLLIER
Announce the Second Year of the
HOME SCHOOL
Sparkill, N. Y.
Boarding School, Boys and Girls between Four and Nine. Sleeping Porches, Open Air School Rooms

WHY NOT STAY AT
THE MARTINA
Residence for Ladies
Dining Rooms Open for Ladies and Gentlemen
1814 M Street N. W.
Phone North 5647-J Washington, D. C.

Financial Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall

Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co.
Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from August 4 Through August 11, 1917

Contribution made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Ella Morton Dean:	
Miss Julia Emory	$ 2.00
Mrs. George Pflaster	5.00
Per Mrs. Lawrence Lewis:	
A Friend	5,000.00
Miss Louise Lewis	10.00
Per Miss Tennis Mitchell:	
Miss Lois Wilder	5.00
Miss Antoinette Wilder	5.00
Miss Tennis Mitchell	4.50
Miss Sue de Lorenzi	5.00
Miss Edith Wescott	6.00
Miss Catherine Cramner	2.00
Miss Dorothy Staples	5.00
Miss F. Tannebaum	1.00
Miss Reta Wolper	3.00
Miss Vernon Clayton	2.00
Miss Bessie Blum	1.00
Miss Georgiana Daw	1.50
Mr. S. Anderson	5.00
Miss Elizabeth Culture	1.00
Miss Margaret Jung	1.00
Mrs. Edward Murray	10.00
Miss May Elsas	3.00
Miss Mildred Oppenheimer	3.00
Miss Margaret Oppenheimer	4.00
Miss Kathryn Staples	2.50
Miss Leta Bentley	1.00
Miss Elizabeth Johnson	1.00
Miss Hilda Anton-Smith	1.00
Miss Alys Bentley	3.00
Mr. Nat Thompson	1.00
Miss Lucy Staples	2.50
Per Sixth Congressional District of Pennsylvania:	
Mrs. B. Allenbach	1.00
Miss H. A. Anderson	1.00
Mrs. Lillian H. Biddle	5.00
Miss Cecelia P. Bass	1.00
Mrs. Earl Barnes	1.00
Miss Denise	1.00
Miss Louise Eissler	1.00
Miss Jennie C. Graham	1.00
Mrs. G. von Horvath	1.00
Miss Maude B. Hansch	1.00
Miss Anna M. Hughes	1.00
Miss Anne H. Hall	1.00
Miss S. Edna Johnson	1.25
Miss C. S. Johnson	.50
Miss Ida Katzenstein	1.00
Mrs. Chas. Z. Klauder	10.00
Mrs. Grace E. Loveland	1.25
Mrs. E. F. Murphy	1.00
Mrs. Martha Moore	1.25
Mrs. L. M. B. Mitchell	1.00
Mrs. M. C. MacEwen	1.00
Mrs. Howard Rattay	1.00
Mrs. Eleanor Stradling	10.00
Mrs. William F. Snyder	5.00
Mrs. P. B. Spencer	5.00
Mrs. I. H. Stewart	1.00
Miss H. E. Springman	1.00
Miss Florence Sanville	1.00
Mrs. Sanville	1.00
Miss Nellie Wegmore	1.00
Miss Lydia M. Wolfe	1.00
Mrs. John Rogers	10.00
Columbus, Ohio, Branch	40.00
Miss Reba Sawetwich	1.00
Mrs. Emma Gray Harbich	4.00
Dr. Francis M. Lane	10.00
Mrs. Carrie Wright	1.00
Miss Grace Henshaw	100.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons and Miss Julia Young	20.00
Mr. Edward Quebbeman	1.00
Miss Agnes M. Herrington	2.00
Mrs. W. K. Morley	10.00
Miss Christine Doyle	5.00
Mrs. Henry J. Gibbons	4.75
Mrs. Agnes Brown Leach	1,000.00
Membership Fees	3.75
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 6,370.75
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	250,659.71
Total collected by National Headquarters through August 11, 1917	$257,030.46

Contributions Made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:

Mrs. Frederick M. Shepard	25.00
Mrs. Grace G. Kempter	10.00
Miss Mary A. Burnham	500.00
Mrs. J. M. Runk	2.00
Collection	2.05
Dr. Miriam Butt	5.00
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey	10.00
Miss Fanny T. Cochran	25.00
Mrs. Lillian H. Biddle	10.00
Miss Josephine T. Ancona	3.75
Mrs. D. H. von Horvath	10.00
Mr. Ryerson W. Jennings	1.00
Mrs. Thomas S. Williams	10.00
Total collected by Branches	$ 613.80
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	35,540.96
Total collected by Branches through August 11, 1917	$ 36,154.76
Grand Total	$293,185.22
DEDUCTION:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	2,136.00
Grand Net Total	$291,049.22

Beautiful Drawing Rooms of National Woman's Party Headquarters

Lafayette Square

Washington, D. C.

FOR RENT

for entertaining.
For information apply to
MRS. ELLA M. DEAN, House Manager

Exquisitely Arranged Store
Extraordinary Wide Stock
Exceptionally Reasonable Prices

Get Your Groceries at

G. G. CORNWELL'S

1415 H ST. N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.

1510 H Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

J. M. Gidding & Co.

Cincinnati Duluth, Minn.

Fifth Ave. and 46th St.
New York

SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS SUMMER FURS

WEST END TRUST COMPANY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

CAPITAL and SURPLUS

$4,000,000

Receives Deposits

Acts as Executor, Administrator Guardian, Trustee, Agent

Sells Foreign Exchange, Travelers' Letters of Credit, Express Checks

Maintains an Up-to-date Safe Deposit Department and a Storage Department for trunks and packages

Manages Real Estate, Collects Rents etc.

Lends Money on Approved Collateral Security

TYPEWRITING

MULTIGRAPHING MIMEOGRAPHING

The Duplicating Letter Shop

Work called for and delivered

M. 6723. 1208 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

TELEPHONE MAIN 673

Lanman Engraving Co.

HALF TONES, ZINC ETCHINGS
PROCESS ENGRAVERS

POST BUILDING Washington, D. C.

WE DO ALL KINDS OF

PRINTING

Quick Service Reasonable Prices

Hayworth Publishing House

Phone Main 1062 636 G Street N. W.

Established 1904

HARVEY A. STROUD

Electrical Engineer and Contractor

2103 NORTH ELEVENTH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Specialize on EYE COMFORT SYSTEM of Lighting in Old or New Installation. Anything else Electrical, I AM ON THE JOB. Just Write, Call or Telephone

DIAMOND 132

"ETERNAL EXISTENCE ESTABLISHED;" "ETERNAL SUFFERING IMPOSSIBLE." Two leaflets of interest. A stamp brings them to you. John N. Quinn, 307 Elm, Takoma Park, D. C.

Subscribe for The Suffragist

KEEP up with the dramatic battle of American women for a voice in their own government by subscribing for THE SUFFRAGIST today.

Circulation Manager, Miss Elizabeth Smith

Circulation Committee

Miss Nettie Blasing, *Minn.*
Mrs. Alice Cosu, *La.*
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie, *Col.*
Mrs. Olive H. Hasbrouck, *Mass.*
Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton, *Ill.*
Mrs. Nell K. Irion, *Idaho*
Mrs. Ruby Koenig, *Conn.*
Miss Marion May, *N. Y.*
Mrs. Percy Read, *Va.*
Miss Blanche Robbins, *Iowa*
Mrs. Abram J. Rose, *N. J.*
Miss Helen Scott, *Md.*
Mrs. R. N. Scott, *N. C.*
Mrs. M. B. Spellman, *Ind.*
Mrs. Frank Stirlith, *Del.*
Miss Eliza Tonks, *D. C.*
Mrs. Lillian L. Vose, *Pa.*
Mrs. James Whittemore, *Mich.*
Mrs. Neuton Wing, *Ga.*
Miss Louise C. Young, *Texas*

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragists"

JULY 29 THROUGH AUGUST 4

Mrs. Nina E. Allender	1
Through Arizona Branch	1
Miss Virginia J. Arnold	1
Mrs. L. C. Bacon	1
Mrs. John Winters Brannan	3
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright	1
Mrs. Agnes Chase	3
Miss Pauline Clarke	1
Through Connecticut Branch	1
Mrs. Alice M. Cosu	1
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean	1
Mrs. Charlotte Dinwiddie	1
Mrs. Mary Carroll Dowell	3
Mrs. John Couper Edwards	2
Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall	1
Mrs. Madeleine Freeman	1
Miss Clara K. Fuller	1
Miss Mildred Gilbert	1
Miss M. C. Grimshaw	1
Miss Elsie Hill	10
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	3
Miss Florence Hoge	1
Through Indiana Branch	1
Miss Mary H. Ingham	2
Miss Ada L. James	1
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	1
Miss Josephine Locke	2
Miss Elizabeth Griscom Marot	2
Miss Anne Martin	1
Miss Marion May	2
Through New Jersey Branch	2
Mrs. Edward Skogstrom	1
Through South Carolina Branch	3
Miss Doris Stevens	2
Mrs. Harriet Park Thomas	1
Mrs. St. Clair Thompson	3
Mrs. Lillian L. Vose	2
Mrs. Blanche I. Whittemore	6
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	1
Total	73

WOMEN KHAKI CLOTHING

Norfolk Jackets	$3.75
Riding Coats	6.00
Riding Breeches	3.25
Walking Skirts	3.50
Divided Skirts	5.00
Leggins	1.50
Hats	1.00

1331 F St. N. W.

MEYER MILITARY SHOPS

The Southern Pharmacy

in the Southern Building

1427 H ST. N. W.

Your Phone Orders Will Be Promptly Filled and Delivered

Phones Main 5490, 5509 Washington, D. C.

Open Daily, 8:15 a. m. to 5:00 p. m.
Saturday, close 1:00 p. m.

"THE BUSY CORNER"

S. Kann Sons & Co.

8TH ST. AND PENNA. AVE.

SEA SUITS

—Your own bathing suit, of course, when you go to the seashore! Don't think of renting one that any one might have worn. See these tomorrow:

—*Mohair and Sateen Bathing Suits,* braid and button trimmed, or trimmed with black and white striped or red and white polka dot materials. Majority of the suits are blue. All sizes. Choice, $1.98.

—*Cotton Poplin Suits,* black with striped trimming; belted effect; complete with cotton jersey combination suit, at $2.49.

—*Danish Cloth, Sateen and Mohair Suits;* black and white striped trimmings; others with collar, belt and sleeves trimmed in plain red or green sateen or white pique; others plain black with white soutache braid trimming, at $2.98, $3.49 and $3.98.

—*Also Bathing and Diving Caps and Bathing Shoes,* variously priced.

Kann's—Second Floor

Do Your "Bit"

In the business world—tell prospects of your sales opportunities—make your proposition plain with GOOD PRINTING. Try our line—"We Grow 'Cause We Know"

Columbian Printing Co.
Incorporated
815 Fourteenth Street

SOCIETY STATIONERY

E. MORRISON PAPER CO.

1009 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mothproof bags and paper for protecting the winter clothing, carpets, rugs, curtains, etc.

Exclusively for Women

Then why not stay at

Hotel Rutledge

Lexington Ave. and 30th St.
New York

Rooms from $1.00 daily

Room with full board from $12.00 to $18.00 per week. All outside rooms

UNITY A Weekly Magazine for Freedom in Religion, Democracy in all Its Forms, Internationalism, and the Abolition of Militarism

EDITOR, JENKIN LLOYD JONES

CONTAINS EACH WEEK: Vital contributions to the Problems of Internationalism; Editorial Comment on Important Current Events; Sermon Study, generally by the Editor; Recent Poetry; Studies of Great World Leaders; Book Reviews, etc., etc.

During the period of the war, when the regular press is occupied almost exclusively with war news, all whose concern it is to preserve democracy from the impending militarism should keep in touch with each other by reading the free periodicals.

Established 1878. Price, $2.00 per year. Sample copies free. Those who subscribe within one month of the appearance of this advertisement, and who so request, will receive, until the supply is exhausted, a copy of Mr. Jones' new book, "Love for Battle Torn Peoples."

UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY, 700 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD, CHICAGO